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which always seemed picturesque to me, a foreigner. It was Zdravka who told me how the women made their garments.

"Women's clothing is made chiefly by hand and of homemade cloth. In the homes we have very few sewing machines, which only the young girls know how to run. Most of the outer garments for men are made by the village tailor. All of us can do the traditional embroidery patterns which make our dresses so pretty, but we do not have as much embroidery now as formerly; the old women cannot see to do it and the young people want modern things."

Then Yurdan told what clothing the peasants bought:

"The women buy *zabradki* [pieces of cloth for the head]; every once in a while they also buy some flannel or silken goods, and shoes. The old women wear *kozhusi* [sheepskin coats], for which they provide the hides or buy them ready-made. Men also have to buy these *kozhusi* in addition to headwear called *kalpatsi* [pointed brimless caps], or cheap cloth caps. Many men buy ready-made suits, especially if they are unmarried, for use on holidays. Even they, when working in the fields, go back to the more durable homemade garments which do not tear so easily. They also buy some shirts and sweaters, or *shubi* [short overcoats with fur inside], and shoes. In general the tendency of the younger people is toward city dress."

I asked them why everybody dressed so much alike. Both of them chuckled and told me about the time the daughter-in-law from the wealthiest peasant household, who had spent some time in Sofia, tried to appear in a distinctive style at a Sunday promenade, only to find that the next Sunday many other girls were wearing the same innovation. Zdravka concluded from this incident:

"No, there is not much individuality in dress, for whenever someone gets something new the others copy it. Especially the young unmarried girls try to buy or to make something new so as to attract attention. But all the rest, as soon as they see it, won't take time to eat until they have made the same thing so that the one possessing it will not feel that she is in a higher position than others. It is this which makes the richer girls most angry."

This led to a discussion of how changes of style had come to the village. This is what Yurdan said:

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"Since the World War there has been much change. Men stopped wearing their narrow white trousers which belted below the hips because they saw during the war that pants that belted above the hips were better. The women changed to lighter clothes because a woman from Vladaya [another village] came with others to visit here, married a Dragalevtsy man, and settled here. Other women saw that the clothes she wore were more convenient and began to adopt the new style."

The tailor's customers brought their own cloth. Five or six of the more fashion-minded young women brought dresses from other villages to be copied. A girl before marriage accumulated about twenty black *sukmani* (jumper dresses), all of the same pattern. She wore out about three of these a year. The men had one black and one rough everyday suit.

Much of the cloth was dyed at home by the peasants with the use of commercial dyes. Black was the universal color for men except in the case of the old style white trousers. If any man deviated from this fashion, people said mockingly, "You are a gypsy," thereby reminding him that he had better act like other people or run the risk of additional social disapproval.

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Shoes in Bulgaria were definitely a sign of social rank. *Tsarvulin* or "sandal-wearer," once a common term for farmer or peasant, has been somewhat displaced by *selenin* or "villager." As a matter of fact, most men in Dragalevtsy continued to wear the pigskin sandals, whereas all self-respecting village women possessed a pair of cheap western shoes. Comically enough, they frequently walked barefoot

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and carried these uncomfortable badges of status. Just the same, these shoes periodically needed the services of a cobbler, who in Dragalevtsy happened to be the youngest married son of Bai Milush, a highly respected peasant proprietor. Three sons, their wives and progeny comprised part of the twenty people living in Bai Milush's patriarchal dwelling. As the land which will someday be divided up among the sons was limited, each son agreed to specialize along some particular line: the oldest was the dairyman, the middle son was the crop expert, and the youngest married son (and, incidentally, the most delicate in health) was a cobbler, whom the family agreed to send to a trade school in Sofia. Because he drove in his wooden pegs with the best of them, he was building up a profitable business in the village.

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veniently arranged to be away from home. The villagers occasionally joked about the peasant who climbed a tree to escape the tax collector and had to remain in that uncomfortable predicament for many hours before the visitor left. But the Turks did recognize the traditional form of village government, or government by elders, and let the heads of the zadrugas, or large joint families, run village affairs to their liking. Most of the time, the head of the zadruga had to accept the responsibility for the deeds of all members of his family group.

These zadrugas were little principalities guided by a *stopanin,* usually the oldest male. His word was law; he distributed the work among the men, bought the necessities, sold the produce, and represented the zadruga before the outside world; therefore, the zadruga usually bore his name. Whenever a son, brother, or nephew of the *stopanin* married, he brought his wife back home to become a member of his zadruga. The wife of the *stopanin,* known as the *domakinya,* managed the housework. She kept the women busy making bread, cooking, washing, spinning, and weaving. Everything was owned in common. Work too was done in common, and whatever one earned outside was turned over to the *stopanin* for the common treasury. In return, all the members got clothes and food, which in those days were about all they expected to have.

After the death of the *stopanin,* the members met to select the next most capable male as their leader. At times, the *domakinya* took over the position of responsibility. Such was doubtless what happened in the case of Baba Dragana, or her prototype, since the ending of the word Dragalevtsy would indicate that it had been settled by a zadruga. The old joint family comprised married cousins descended from the same ancestor, with the result that it sometimes numbered as many as one hundred people.

When the older Dragalevtsy peasants talked to me of the zadruga, which persisted as late as 1880 in their village, they showed that wistfulness for the past which runs through the works of many Bulgarian writers. The zadruga was supposed to be a source of plenty and happiness to its members. One aged peasant listed for me the advantages of this joint family over the modern family. First of all, he said, it had great economy. The members had only one lamp,

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one stove, and one of everything, but now the same number of people living separately require many of each thing. In the second place, there was obedience. The young people respected the old. This made for efficiency, since the *stopanin* was like "a general in the army, directing the young." Finally, he concluded, all the people worked together and could earn more, thus becoming richer.

Even under the Turks the zadruga was passing from the scene because it was too unwieldy to adjust to the economic and social changes taking place. Contributing to its decline was the spirit of independence which stemmed from the French Revolution and eventually reached the Balkans. Greeks, and then Serbs, drove the Turks from their midst and established national independence. In Bulgaria and Macedonia, still under the Turks, the *haidutsi,* or guerrillas, went to the mountains every spring on Annunciation Day to spend the summer warring against their Mohammedan masters. It was this same tradition which the Yugoslav guerrillas followed in their resistance to the Nazis. This spirit of independence and the other influences from the West led one zadruga member after another to ask for a division of the common property. Usually the older men, brothers or cousins to each other, secured their shares and then established semi-patriarchal families of their own which consisted of their own sons and their sons' families. What had been common land now became the property of the individual families living in dwellings of their own. But more important sociologically than the smaller size of the individual family unit was the changed basis of authority in the family circle.

In the zadruga the head had been an overseer who achieved his position on the basis of age, ability, and special influence in the community at large. He constantly had to exercise care to keep in the good graces of the zadruga members upon whose assent his office was dependent. In this way the patriarchal pattern, although it ran through the zadruga system, was tempered by the control vested in an elected as opposed to an hereditary head. The father of an individual family, on the other hand, felt that his right of dominance was God-given. He, allied with God, invested himself with the lordship and so held his own in spite of personal unworthiness and in spite of dissension and revolt of the subject children. The father was

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a *paterfamilias*, with a unique concentration of power in his hands. If his grown children did not submit to his control, then they could leave his house but had no means of removing him against his will. Death alone could do that.

Such was the family situation in Dragalevtsy with the coming of liberation after the Russo-Turkish War in 1878. The changes which have occurred in the family since then have been related in no small degree to the political fortunes of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian constitution was drawn up in Tirnovo in imitation of the constitutions of the West, and made Bulgaria a constitutional monarchy with a national parliament. Unfortunately, the new frame of government disregarded many traditional practices of the peasants and sought to impose upon them foreign ideas and strange governmental processes.

In April, 1879, Alexander of Battenberg, who was an officer in the Prussian army and the favorite nephew of Tsar Alexander II of Russia, was elected Prince over the country. In September, 1885, Bulgaria united with Eastern Rumelia, an area which had been placed back under nominal Turkish control by the Treaty of Berlin. Prince Alexander, because he did not collaborate sufficiently with the Russians in their desire to make Bulgaria completely subservient to Russia, was abducted from Sofia and forced to abdicate in 1886. Then the Bulgarian leaders shopped around Europe for another Prince, and finally in 1887 chose Prince Ferdinand of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha line. He did much to make Bulgaria a stronger state, but he showed poor judgment in ordering Bulgarian troops to attack Serbia, thereby starting the Second Balkan War in which Bulgaria suffered catastrophic defeat at the hands of her former allies in the First Balkan War. In 1918, because he had been a party to the alliance of Bulgaria with the Central Powers in the First World War, he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Boris.

From her inception as a state Bulgaria tried to make a success of representative government. Men were urged to vote; in fact, they were fined the equivalent of five dollars if they failed to vote. But in spite of the dream of Young Bulgaria at Tirnovo, in spite of her

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642 666 vibrant youth and living hope, her fling at democracy failed, primarily because ballots were given to peasants who were not being taught the meaning of citizenship in a national state.

● 178 623 Those interested in democracy have much to learn from the story of government in Dragalevtsy. At the outset the informal rule of the elders, which had been recognized by the Turks, was replaced by a commune or *obshtina* with regularly elected officials. At first these units included a number of villages. By 1890 the increase in population necessitated the breaking up of the larger *obshtini* so as to include only two or three villages. In other words, the pendulum was swinging back in the direction of greater local control, the swing being further accentuated after the First World War.

665 Political parties grew like mushrooms in Bulgaria. In 1930 the country had more than sixteen significant parties; in the village of Dragalevtsy, with its total population of about sixteen hundred, there [557] were six important parties with recognized leaders and platforms. To be a party leader in the village meant added prestige; to be one in the city or on a national scale meant power. In order for a Dragalevtsy man to become a local party leader he had to be acquainted with important people in Sofia. Even though he had only one influential friend in the city, he could persuade this man to come out and help organize a party. Other peasants were invited to the organizational meeting and officers were elected. Naturally, the one who took the initiative would be chosen to an important post. Because of the multiplicity of parties and the intense strife among them, many people throughout the country breathed a sigh of relief when the authoritarian government, which came into power on May 19, 1934, abolished by decree all political parties and started the practice of appointing university [622] graduates as mayors in villages. This meant that the head of the government in a village was not dependent upon the will of the populace but had to produce results satisfactory to the officials over him. The breakdown of the party system was associated, especially as far as the conservative peasant population was concerned, not only with forces outside the village but also with the failure of popular education to develop into "a bulwark of people rule."

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The attitude of the peasants toward government dates from the days of Turkish rule, when the chief aim of a citizen was to deceive the tax collector. The same spirit was still prevalent in Dragalevtsy in 1937. Furthermore, government had taken such a large share in the affairs of daily life that the peasants had come to feel that government, rather than individual effort, should introduce any reforms or improvements. Typical attitudes were the following:

"In general we have enough sense to know that government is necessary, but we do not expect any favors from it except to keep peace and order and to settle disputes."

"Government exists primarily to collect heavy taxes for the purpose of paying high salaries to high officials."

"Laws are things to be written in books and not to be obeyed. There are so many laws that we don't know them. The officials don't even know them. So we don't have much faith in laws."

While these political changes were occurring, things were happening to the large individual family which had come into being with the breaking up of the zadruga. Some of the forces had already been at work before the Liberation but became more evident with the westernization of the country. The impact of westernization was shown by the fact that the Bulgarians still said when they were going to western Europe, "I am going to Europe." That is, psychologically they still felt identified with the Near East, although they were more and more exposed to the material achievements of Euro-American culture. Education, whatever may have been its shortcomings, had spread rapidly and brought many individualizing tendencies; there had been an increase in commerce, which made it difficult for large family units to be as self-sustaining as formerly. The wars also, by quickening social mobility, proved harmful to the large families. One of the younger men listening in on a group of old cronies in their endless discussions of the good old days summed up the change:

"During the war [1915-1918] and after, people traveled more to other places and saw how people lived there, so we have become more modern and started dividing our estates according to the fashion. We can now live more quietly and peacefully by living separately."

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178 606 596 A daughter-in-law especially disliked to live as a stranger in her husband's paternal home subject to the will of the parents-in-law. Time and time again I heard this opinion clumsily but definitely expressed:

"The large families started to break up after the wars. The chief reason for that was the daughter-in-law. Many of them come from different places and even if they come from the same village, they begin to care more for their own children and to make things for them without the knowledge of the others with whom they are living. This brings trouble among them and so they quarrel. Then they talk to their husbands; finally the brothers, although they love one another, have to separate in order to be at peace."

178 594 Ordinarily most men felt that conditions were better before the separation, though the women were more content apart. Ill will and distrust also grew up between the members of the family when some of them who worked as day laborers failed to hand over their entire earnings to the common treasury. In the villages around Sofia several brothers rarely lived together with undivided possessions after the death of their father as they would have done in the days of the zadruga. During 1935, a record year for the division of families in Dragalevtsy, there were 9 cases of estates being broken up, 3 of them the result of the separation of son and father and the remaining 6 involving the separation of brothers. When a large family divided, the younger brother usually remained in the old homestead and assumed the care of the parents.

594 178 551 This change from the large patriarchal family to the small conjugal family was having consequences which few of the peasants realized.[1] For one thing, in comparison with the larger group, the conjugal family, which consists of parents and their unmarried children, has a short life. It ends, in a sense, with the death of one of the marriage partners. This especially affects the rearing of children, who in the olden days grew up with such a bevy of cousins that a special middle name was useful in identifying each child with his particular parents. More specifically each child received a "small" or given name selected by his godparents; as a middle name he automatically added to his father's given name an *ev* or *ov* ("the son of") or, if a girl, an *eva* or *ova* ("the daughter of"). As a last name he

[1] [Cf pp. 65-69, category 116--Analyst]

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551 would take the larger family name of his father's kinship group. Thus
178 an outsider could immediately place each child not only in the family
594 group as a whole but in the small conjugal group as well. Students of child development have often pointed out the advantage to the child of growing up with a number of intimate contemporaries, as well as having several adults ready to serve as substitute parents whenever occasion demands.

But the change need not be viewed as entirely unfavorable. The smaller family unit was bringing about a more intimate relationship between members, breaking down the formalism between parents and children, and encouraging democratic living.

178 The good old days, if we are to believe the elders of the village,
463 differed not only in the degree of governmental autonomy in community affairs and a patriarchy in which the young respected the old: occupations too were of a different order.

"Half a century ago there were very few educated people, the chief of these being a priest from the monastery and a teacher. The mayor was an ordinary peasant elected by the town council of twelve people. There was a swineherd, as well as other herdsmen, and five merchants, plus a tanner. Practically all of the people were farmers. There was no dairyman; there was no doctor. All dentistry was done by Turks who remedied an aching tooth by pulling it out. We raised no horses, and an itinerant gypsy smith did all the necessary iron work."

When I asked another man about occupations half a century ago, he added this information:

"It was 'simple business' fifty years ago. There was a teacher for boys in the first and second grades; there was no village tailor, and the single tanner had little work. A priest from the monastery min-
652 istered to the people on occasion. We had no tax collector and an
211 illiterate mayor took all the taxes and kept the account on a *rabosh*."

(Here I steered the conversation off the subject of occupations long enough to find out what the *rabosh* was. It was similar to a practice of the Exchequer in twelfth-century England in which accounting was done with pieces of notched wood. Each family had a small piece of wood fitting into another piece kept by the mayor. The notches in the wood told the financial status of the family as far as the tax money was concerned.)

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The notches in the wood told the financial status of the family as far as the tax money was concerned.)

"There was no barber because shaving and haircutting were done in the home or else by neighbors. When we began to use iron in the wagons, *maistori* came from outside. They also began to help in the building of simple houses. Until their arrival the houses were of straw with no bricks or tiles."

Even half a century ago there were a few young people who wanted to give up agriculture and become artisans, chiefly because there was not enough farm work for all members of the family. But the real shift in the young people's attitude toward farming as an occupation occurred in the 1920's along with the increased importance of the school.

"Formerly we were simple people," my informant concluded. "Now the situation is very different. Many go to study, to be officers and to be priests. Many finish the fifth and sixth class in Sofia. Now young people with ambition can be what they want to be."

One old woman in comparing the present with the period of her childhood said:

"The school is largely responsible for the change. Dragalevtsy would have been the same now as it was fifty years ago if we had had no school. The young people read and write, the discipline is more severe, and the youngsters have to go to school."

Whenever I wanted to stir up a lively discussion at the tavern, or with a group of women spinning thread, or with farmers out in the field, I could rely upon one question to do the trick: "Was life better fifty years ago than it is today?" The oldest person usually led off; after that, the discussion became a verbal free-for-all. Nothing was ever proved to anyone's satisfaction, but it was readily apparent that changes had taken place. The good old days in the opinion of some stood for the best that life had to offer, but others were glad that conditions of half a century ago belonged to the past. Perhaps the village drunk spoke words of wisdom when he finally got the attention of the group long enough to say: "Everything is better now but it is also more difficult." The more I think over that statement the more I feel that the drunk should have been a diplomat.

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Visitors suddenly confronted with the familistic way of life for the first time are often shocked at the low level of living which they observe: animals sharing the same dwelling; monotonous diet and low health standards; waste of time and energy with inefficient tools and methods. Before the peasant is condemned as unambitious, indolent, or stupid, there are a few things the outsider must bear in mind. In agricultural villages throughout the world the land base has been shrinking while the population has been expanding. This has meant decreased economic opportunity. Farms which were once adequate are now divided up strip by strip and handed over to many descendants, with the results that the term "eking out a living" has come to have real meaning for the peasant. The outsider often forgets that the rise in the level of living in the cities through the techniques of mass production and mass distribution has been relatively recent and phenomenally rapid. The villager is not really so far behind the times if one compares his life with that of many cities a few decades ago, or with the blighted areas of these same cities today. But one cannot deny that quite a few peasants seem to take pride in resisting social change; they are slow to experiment with new methods, and they assume that what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them. This resistance is based, to a great degree, upon the realization that accepting too much from outside will seriously affect the social organization of their community. Urban society is not nearly so close-knit and can allow for contradictions and inconsistencies on a much broader scale than can the village, where life is still intimate and face-to-face. Dragalevtsy people, for example, in 1937 were conscious of the far-reaching changes brought about by the abandonment of sheep raising in favor of dairying. Sometime ago, a number of the peasants actively resisted this economic trend. In the opinion of many, these conservatives were stupid; at the same time they were bright enough to figure out that changes would result in the economy to which they were accustomed. Because they were accustomed to it, they wanted to preserve it.

In a familistic society religion has usually become rigidly institutionalized and is closely allied with the family. All family events call for the blessing of the religious intermediary; there are usually household shrines; there is considerable emphasis upon observing the

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441 596 [178] In Dragalevtsy, therefore, familism had yielded some ground to commerce. People did make occasional purchases in the village and in Sofia. They talked more and thought more about money. They even valued it more highly than a generation ago, but the basis of their economic life remained self-subsistent, with an emphasis upon goods, not cash.

476 596 Co-operatives had also come to Dragalevtsy. In a very real sense village life itself was a co-operative enterprise, although it did not possess the specific characteristics of an economic co-operative. The large joint family, which has been widely prevalent throughout the world, also had many elements of the co-operative which have been maintained, at least in the sentiments of the people, even though the family group has become individualized and smaller.

Self-subsistent peasant farmers are accustomed to working together when something needs to be done. Theirs is, after all, a co-operative way of life. They also know that their own hard work and their own planning are responsible for whatever success they achieve. They are suspicious of outsiders who seek to organize them, and are fearful that any tie-up with the business interests outside the village means loss rather than gain. They are not accustomed to using money to make more money, although they know well enough what it means to pay interest on borrowed money.

[369] [423] Agricultural co-operatives often gain adherents more quickly when there is a feeling of distinction or distrust between city and the country people. This is because co-operatives have been identified in such places with the agrarianism which unites the peasants. The profit motive of capitalism is linked, in the minds of many villagers, with the urban businessman, in spite of the fact that the villager who owns his land is also a capitalist. Perhaps it is this idea which Americans find hardest to grasp in their evaluation of peasant Europe. Land is not something to be bought and unfeelingly sold for money. It is rather a means of livelihood, an extension of oneself and one's family.

476 As the merchant groups in the villages are few and insecure, the co-operatives do not have the opposition of vested interests which they face in a more highly developed economy. I realized from the beginning that co-operatives had made much less headway in Dragalevtsy

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2. The reasons for joining were varied:
   a. "I have six cows. Need help in case a cow dies."
   b. "I wanted to get money from the bank."
   c. "The veterinary doctor enrolled me when he organized the association."

3. All members were satisfied with the officers who represented them.

4. The relations with the Co-operative Bank in Sofia had been cordial. Once a year the bank sent out a commission to see that everything in the village was in order; a commission also came out in case of the death of an animal.

The Insurance Association illustrated the way many village organizations arose in Bulgarian villages. The idea of the organization originated in Sofia, was put into effect by a State employee, and members were recruited from those who thought that their interests would be served by belonging. A glance at the list of members, ranging in age from twenty-four to sixty, showed that they were among the most enterprising in the village. The organization would doubtless have been only half as large had it not been for the ruling of the bank which required insurance on any animals put up as collateral. Since the association did not attempt to teach the peasants how to feed or stable the animals, it was missing a real opportunity for further service.

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The traditional economy of Dragalevtsy had therefore been subjected not only to the incursion of commerce with its emphasis upon money, but also to the formation of co-operatives to meet some specific needs of a group of interested persons. In addition there was a concerted effort throughout Bulgaria by the national government to raise the peasants' plane of living. Some of this activity found expression in Dragalevtsy, largely through the initiative of the county agent or *agronom* who was concerned with the improvement of agriculture and livestock. Since he had to care for almost a score of other villages, his visits to Dragalevtsy were few and far between, so the peasants were quite correct in saying that little was being done for the improvement of agriculture in the village. While the county *agronom*

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gave lectures at intervals during the year and consulted with some farmers regarding their work, he could not initiate and carry through a thorough program without the help of a local *agronom.*

As far as livestock was concerned, there were two boars and one village bull for breeding purposes. The law required that each *Obshtina* take charge of its own breeding animals. There was supposed to be a local breeding association, but the mayor was the only member. A fund was being collected for a village barn. Meanwhile, the animals were boarded out to various peasants who received a fixed sum. Improvement of livestock was more easily managed through the control of male animals, which were inspected each spring. Those of bad quality were castrated (the veterinary's fees for this work being the following: pig, 10 leva; donkey, 20 leva; horse, 40 leva). If the animal died, the State paid for the loss. I happened to visit the village at the time the veterinary doctor was making his inspection of horses. Before he could begin his thorough examination, the representative of the *Obshtina* looked over the bills of sale to be sure each man had his own horses. This bill of sale cost 3 per cent of the amount exchanged. If the horses had been foaled at the home of the present owners, the men presented certificates of ownership which they had previously obtained from the mayor for fifteen leva. If the doctor found that a horse was ill, a second examination was made two weeks later. If the animal was still sick, State officials bought the horse for a small sum and killed it. A fine ranging from two hundred to five hundred leva was charged if the horses were not brought for the examination. While a national program for home demonstration work had been prepared, Dragalevtsy so far had received few benefits.

Recreation, like economic life, had been subjected to efforts at organization. The people of Dragalevtsy customarily associated liquor with holidays and leisure time. In the earlier days there was little organized opposition to the use of alcohol, but by 1922 considerable public opinion had been aroused against the *kruchmi.* On January 1, 1922, all the taverns of the village were closed by order of the Village Council, which thought that the drink shops were a social evil. The village was very much stirred up, most of the men siding with the tavern keepers and the women with the Village Council. The tavern

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to a position of importance they answered: "We should choose a new executive committee, put the library in order, lend out the books, have more evening entertainments. To do this we should get in touch with people in Sofia."

Part of the trouble arose from disagreement among the officers. In the words of one member, "An organization cannot get ahead with that sort of business." But even more of the trouble went back to the fact that the organizers had not convinced the villagers of the importance of the group. Meanwhile, most peasants looked upon it as an importation of interest only to the intelligentsia and their hangers-on.

The experiences of the *Chitalishte* and other organizations in Dragalevtsy revealed that the peasants were not organization-minded. Even if we included the governmental groups to be discussed in the next chapter, we would find that less than ten women in the village belonged to any formal group, and only 107 of the 510 men over twenty years of age had an organizational membership. Where people's homes were so conveniently located one would expect greater participation on the part of the men, at least. But almost four-fifths of them avoided any organizational affiliation, largely because they were not accustomed to using an organization to do what they thought needed to be done. One of the most frequent reasons for failure to join was this: "Why should I pay the fees charged when I would get nothing in return?"

In this world of competing *isms* Dragalevtsy represented in 1937 a modification of familism, the oldest and most widespread way of life we know, perpetuated by agricultural villages all over the world. But familism was slowly losing out. In some quarters of the world the commercialism of a capitalistic system was supplanting the older values with money values; in other quarters the collectivism of a communist society was shaking the economic foundations of the large family group.

As far as Dragalevtsy was concerned, commercialism was in its infancy. Back in 1937 communism might have seemed to the outsider to have a hold on this village as well as on others in Bulgaria

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because of the old affection the Bulgarian peasants had felt for the Russians since the days when the Tsar Alexander II of Russia helped free Bulgaria from Turkish control. Contemporary Russia also was making its appeal through Bulgarian communists who had taken the agrarian, or "rights-for-peasants," aspect of the modern Russian system and expounded it to the peasants as communism. Although it was doubtful whether the Dragalevtsy peasant had any clear idea of collectivism, it was certain that he would have been completely bewildered by the idea of giving up his cherished holdings to the state.

Dragalevtsy, therefore, was something of an anachronism, for the familistic system still had a firm grip on many of the adults. Their ideas had been set a generation ago by parents who subscribed unquestioningly to the familistic way of life. The young people, on the other hand, were receptive to other values and other standards and were ready to look more and more to the "people of the world" for guidance and leadership.

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CHAPTER IX

THE NATIONAL STATE AS INTRUDER AND REFORMER

In Dragalevtsy, as in agricultural villages throughout the world, the national state was building up a loyalty in competition with the unquestioned loyalty people used to give to their family group and their community. The spread of the government-sponsored school, though its scientific teachings were elementary, weakened the hold of the formalistic, institutionalized religion which went along with a familistic society. Because of the school there was increased conflict between the older and younger generations.

Not only in time of war but also in time of peace the national government had been calling its young men to leave their plows and their cattle to take up pick or rifle. The *trudovatsi* handled the picks, and those in military training the rifles.

After the first World War Bulgaria initiated an ambitious program of compulsory labor as a substitute for military training, formerly required. The original plan called for service from both young men and young women. Recruiting of women later ceased for they proved unsuited to the system. The young men of the country were enrolled in labor camps where they performed their *trudova* (compulsory labor). Each young *trudovak* was required to serve eight months, though for two thousand leva, or less than $25, he could buy himself off at the end of six months. Some young men paid a total ranging from 9,000 leva to 32,000 leva, according to their economic status, to be entirely exempted from service.

The *trudovatsi* built many highways and bridges, and worked without pay in government shops, factories, and lumber plants. Their achievements were significant although much of this potential man power was unused or misused because of the lack of sufficient engineers to give proper direction to the work.

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659 794 a year, the priest asked the board members to assemble at the church, minutes were kept, and no outsiders attended. The government's influence was further felt during the period 1934-1937, when all political elections were suspended, and with these all church board elections too. No one was eligible to vote.

659 869 771 As the national school and church authorities had not been satisfied with the type of religious training that the children had been getting in the average peasant home, they had set up in each village an organization called "The Association for the Orthodox Christianization of Bulgarian Youth." In general, the work of the group consisted in teaching the school children the significance of the iconostas, church ceremonies, and other related matters. School hours were used, and attendance was compulsory. The school director, who had been asked by the Archbishop in Sofia to conduct the work of the association in co-operation with the priest, said that they had had about twenty-five meetings during the year. Parents and others who were interested attended these meetings. This was one activity which the peasants had accepted quite willingly because, as one woman said, "the children are kept off the streets when there is a group gathering, and thus do not learn so many bad things." This was the woman's way of berating parents for failing to take better care of their children. But fundamentally the acceptance was based upon the traditional recognition of the church's importance. In the past, whatever had bolstered up the established church had bolstered up the familistic system.

178 181 596 Such a barrage from the batteries of commerce, government, and education[1] had left the familistic way of life in Dragalevtsy battered but not crumbling. The peasants were still amused at the intense activity of the intelligentsia; the few who were asked to confer with the authorities enjoyed reporting back to their families and friends just what they said and did. The people co-operated in the campaigns for this-and-that only when they knew that the mayor would send the policeman along if they did not co-operate. They attended lectures when ordered to do so, but they joined few of the organizations planned outside. Perhaps the best indication that this beehive of governmental activity was still on the surface was the failure of the peasants to seek advice from the intelligentsia who were supposedly there to help

[1] [For a detailed account, see category 114, pp. 161-176.--Analyst]

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them. An exceptional peasant did; but the vast majority kept an eye upon what was going on without becoming involved in any newly initiated affairs.

Just the same, changes were in the making. Year after year, within given limits, people would be content to do what the authorities told them to do. This was because their family life, with its emphasis upon obedience and respect, had made them docile. If the commands proved too disruptive, however, or took away the things they counted most dear, their family and their land, they resisted.

But the peasants were little interested in fighting for political rights; these were individualistic and not in keeping with familism, which emphasized the welfare of the group rather than the rights of the individual. They did not yet want to have a hand in what went on in Sofia, in Berlin, or Washington. They still were village oriented. To be sure, war affected them, as did the price of grain, but in much the same fatalistic way that a heat wave or a cold snap would. They did not yet feel that they, and millions like them throughout Bulgaria, had the power to control many things affecting their daily life. Some of their fellow villagers in other parts of Bulgaria were alive to this fact, but Dragalevtsy was still politically illiterate.

The leaders in the village were aware of their lack of success. Some of them were disappointed in the peasants for not accepting at face value the words of wisdom they proffered so freely; others cautioned patience. They said, "We can't change things overnight. We will work with the children in the school. Our future lies with them." And they were right. But it was clear that the future they anticipated would be much more distant if the leaders continued to force upon the peasants a way of life imported from "the people of the outside world." Their quickest success lay in evaluating the familistic society that existed, in deciding what should be retained, and what changes should be made. The next step would be to discover by what means, already in use in the village, these changes could be effected. Then, above all, the leaders should have sought to persuade the peasants to help themselves. The governmental paternalism at work in Dragalevtsy created as many local problems as it solved.

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The conflict was on, then, between the old and the new, between familism and the forces from the "people of the outside world." It was a stirring struggle when viewed in terms of people I had come to know and respect. It became a significant struggle when I remembered that Dragalevtsy was only one village out of hundreds of thousands where the conflict was even then being dramatically staged.

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The new way of life that emerges may be more democratic or it may be the basis for additional authoritarian states. Democracy can be assured only if its representatives, who introduce the new, have an insight into the peasants' way of life, a sympathy that is so genuine that it can be quickly sensed by untutored folk, and a skill that can weave into the fabric of the past the strands of the present, in keeping with a sensible pattern for the future.

DEPARTURE—AUGUST, 1937

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THE VILLAGE seemed unusually peaceful on that August day in 1937 when I made the rounds to tell my friends in Dragalevtsy goodbye. Many wanted to know how long the trip to America would take, others asked about my future plans. The majority said, *"do vizhdane"* ("till we meet again"), but several of the older people, who had patiently endured many hours of interviews in the previous months, sensed that their "time" would come before I set foot in Dragalevtsy again. They used the other form of leave-taking—*"sbogom"* ("God be with you"), and also asked God's blessing upon my trip. The mayor told me how much he had enjoyed having me study his village, the priest asked me not to forget my many friends, and Bai Penko took great delight in showing off his new grandson whom I had never seen.

The weather was hot. Few people moved through the Square and only occasionally did a wagon creak down the streets to the fields below the village. Even the flies, usually so troublesome, seemed languid. The dogs slept. Vitosha had lost its cap of snow. Storks

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648 "We would have starved," he said, "if America had not sent that ship of food to Varna on the Black Sea." Truly such an accomplishment by one ship would necessitate a cargo legendary in size, but nevertheless symbolized to Bai Milush and others of his generation the humanitarian America, the land of plenty, opportunity, and democracy. And then he told me of the work that Dominic Murphy, an American State Department representative in Bulgaria, had done in the wake of the last war to meet the relief needs of the people. And even Bai Milush knew that a street in Sofia bore Murphy's name transliterated into the Cyrillic alphabet.

000 Bai Milush's wife, his helpmate through the years, had survived the war too. She proffered food and drink and seemed relieved when I suggested that instead of eating then I would like to take a little of the cheese away with me to use in rounding out my meager hotel breakfasts in Sofia. Later, when I was photographing her outside, I realized that she was unsteady on her feet because she had taken too much *rakiya* as a medicine for a racking cough. *Rakiya* remained the cure-all for every ailment as well as the solace to every sorrow.

178 362 511 Wherever I turned, whether to look at the new houses Bai Milush had erected, or to talk with the peasants about the past few years, I was impressed by the prosperity that the war had brought. Since I had last seen Dragalevtsy, almost one hundred new houses had made their appearance, constituting a decided boom for a village which had boasted only three hundred earlier. Some of these houses had been built as villas by people from Sofia because the city law prohibited any new construction there. The various bombardments had caused so much destruction in the city that nothing but repairs were allowed. Nevertheless, the peasants of Dragalevtsy themselves were replacing old homes with new ones simply because they could afford it now.

178 465 511 I had already learned that during the war the peasants had been the favored element of the Bulgarian population; they had been paid good prices as incentives to increased production; earlier in the war they could use that money to buy articles which they had always wanted but had not been able to afford. For example, the number of radios in the village rose from three or four in 1937 to more than a hundred in 1944.

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But peasant prosperity, especially in a village so close to Sofia, was also based on black-market activities. Even in 1945 economists estimated that about ninety-five per cent of all dairy products reached the urban consumer through the black market at prices fantastically high. The peasants, moreover, had learned new ways of circumventing government requisitioning during the war. Just after harvesting, while rye and wheat crops were still in the field, they would shake from one-fifth to one-fourth of the grain onto blankets and secretly hide this amount from the Germans. Then they would, as the law decreed, take the sheaves to the village to be threshed. A part of this threshed grain, varying in amount each year with the size of the harvest, had to be turned over to the authorities at prices fixed by the government, but the previously sequestered grain could be used at home or disposed of at black market prices.

One additional economic factor of importance[1] was the rise in land values, which surpassed the general rise in prices. For instance, I had not been in the village long before I learned how valuable was the land on the right as one approached the village from Sofia. Within two years the land had gone up ten times, from 35 leva per square meter to 300-400 leva. No wonder then that peasants had been ridding themselves of their debts, selling a field or two if necessary to put them in the clear. Some of the poorer families had been deriving extra income from the earnings of about twenty teen-aged girls who went daily to Sofia to work in the knitting mill. This was a concession to industrialism which the Dragalevtsy peasants would not have made back in 1937, and it was already having some effect upon village life.

But perhaps one of the greatest economic changes was the reversal of the trend toward dairying mentioned in earlier chapters. Shortly after my departure from Dragalevtsy, a milk producers' co-operative had been established in the village, largely through government prompting and support, and collected all of the milk formerly taken to Sofia by the individual milkmen. The co-operative also ran a grocery store and sold large quantities of feed to the farmers. Owing to price policies of the co-operative and the government price-fixing agency, the peasants began to consider dairying unprofitable. They

[1] [Following World War II -- Analyst]

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178 234 began to compare the cost of feed with their income from milk and realized that they were losing money. As the war progressed the government bought more and more forage for military animals, feed costs went up, and dairying profits went down. Once this fact became evident and was noised throughout the village there was almost a wholesale withdrawal from dairying. Whereas three or four years before 1,300-1,400 kilos of milk were sold daily, by 1945 only 40 kilos were sold. The 1945 situation was aggravated by the excessively dry season and the reduced yield per cow from 15 liters daily down to 4 or 5. In other words, the number of cows fell off by as much as 90 per cent owing to the low prices of milk and feed difficulties. The peasants liked to mention the fact that *boza,* a fermented millet-seed drink which tastes like sour, liquefied chicken feed, sold for 40 leva a kilo and milk for only 22 leva.

178 233 The loss in dairying, temporary though it may prove to be, meant a corresponding gain in sheep-raising, with 1945 estimates of sheep numbers varying from 12,000 to 15,000. Sheep had also become popular because of the wool they made available for garments in the days of clothing shortage during and following the war. A return to sheep had created interesting social problems connected with pasturing. The sheepmen wanted to go back to the days when sheep could graze freely on uncultivated land, but many of the peasants wanted to keep pasturelands for their own use rather than common use.

178 593 As I talked to the peasants and heard the concerns expressed by the parents and the aspirations voiced by the young, I began to realize that the family trends already under way in 1937 had progressed further than I would have anticipated. Parents, although very much interested, had less to say about the choice of mates for their sons and daughters. Some of them were quite skillful in making use of relatives to advise the young people in choices which the older members of the family group considered wise.

583 178 593 Brides were still stolen but, contrary to the case in former years, the girl could return home immediately if dissatisfied with the man desiring to become her husband. Shortly before I visited the village a young man had "captured" the girl of his choice and taken her to his father's home. When the girl's parents came to ask whether she chose

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to return or remain, the girl decided to go back to her parents. In 1937 this would have made her ineligible, in a sense, for further consideration as a wife. Now she simply explained that when the boy had asked her in advance if she would marry him she had thought that he was joking and told him "Yes," in what she considered to be a jesting manner. She was greatly surprised two weeks later to find that the boy had been serious. The whole affair turned out happily in the end because within another two weeks the young man had found a willing girl, had become engaged to her, and married her.

Another evidence that the family system was having to change to meet the stress of new times was the lack of social disapproval shown to widows and widowers who married persons previously unmarried. Heretofore, only widows and widowers could marry each other, and this was chiefly because of economic necessity. Although not yet common, it was a growing practice for a widower to take a fancy to a girl whom he later married. The age of marriage was becoming lower, dropping to 18 and 19 years for many of the couples. The engagement period still lasted only one or two weeks, a time sufficient to allow the girl to make her wedding preparations.

Accompanying these changes was a greater freedom among the young people both in relation to each other and in relation to their parents. The *sedenki* for young people followed practically the same patterns which I had previously observed but had not yet popularized the kissing games which featured *sedenki* in northern Bulgaria. Clandestine love-making was increasing as was the tendency on the part of the young people to pair off.

The changed relationship of sons to their fathers was shown by the failure of many of the sons to turn over their earnings to their parents as part of the common family treasury. Formerly more than half of the young men had followed this practice, but estimates in 1945 placed the number at approximately one out of ten.

Of especial interest was the pattern which younger couples were establishing after marriage. Whereas, ten years ago even the young wife would have given implicit obedience to her husband's orders, today many of the families were becoming equalitarian. The older women, however, still clung to the patriarchal pattern, though they

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[562] 178 593 were willing to grant that the changes introduced by the young people were a part of the times and might not be so bad after all. In talking to these older women I noted a touch of envy, which I would not have suspected ten years ago.

In contrast to these changes many phases of the family system remained the same. These included the attitude of intolerance towards a childless couple, the role of the mother-in-law in the caring for infants, the parents' preference for boys, the reserve between father and the children, the continued dwelling of many married sons with their fathers, and the importance attached to being an older brother or sister in the family. The godparent relationship and the attitude towards the *svatovstvo* (in-law relationships) were still of major importance.

[848] The moral standards remained relatively rigid, with continuing intolerance toward illegitimacy. The one such case within the past ten years[1] had caused a great amount of unfavorable comment. The mother resolved her predicament by leaving her child with relatives in the village and marrying in another place.

178 183 Many other traditional practices besides those related to the family still maintained their strong grip on the people. The Christmas Horo took place as always and the Sunday afternoon promenade had become more firmly established. The *babi* (older women) were called in whenever illness or childbirth occurred. The smaller families, of course, numbered fewer children these days, but the *babi* were kept just as busy since the state-employed midwife no longer worked for the Obshtina. The dead were buried much the same as formerly, although the priest forbade people to cry messages to the dead while the funeral procession paused at the crossroads on the way from the home to the church.

[547] The people still made much of the mice and wolf holidays. One day after St. Dimiter's Day (November 9) the peasants continued to fast to keep the mice from coming in and eating up not only stored food but even clothes and other prized possessions. Bai Yurdan, the tailor, told me in all seriousness, "When I was in Sofia I didn't observe such holidays but now that I am back in the village I must."

1 [ie. 1935 - 1945 -- Analyst]

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When I pressed him for his reasons, fully expecting him to say that he was yielding to the pressure of his wife or public opinion, he gravely replied:

"You see in Sofia I did not own any of my own cloth but now I have a great deal downstairs which I must protect from the mice." I might mention in passing that Bai Yurdan had become a faithful member of the Communist party.

The wolf holidays were still observed for three days following the Day of the Archangel Michael, which comes on November 21. During these days the peasants were careful to do no work and refused to cook or boil anything. Such rigid observances, they believed, protected their sheep from wolves, which were still numerous upon the mountain.

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One event of overshadowing importance in the changes which had occurred in Dragalevtsy since 1937 had been its incorporation in Greater Sofia in 1939. Even though their village was close to Sofia, Dragalevtsy people had always considered themselves quite apart, and looked upon Sofia ways as alien ways. However, Sofia politicians managed to bring the village under the sway of the city's municipality. Most villagers considered this an evil day in the history of their community and could cite a number of disadvantages which had occurred as a result. One of the village officials, whom I had known previously, complained particularly about the following points:

1. The city municipality had taken over the forests.

2. It had taken over the meadows which the peasants owned in common. For instance, the villagers no longer did the haying in the meadows which used to belong to the school because all of the revenue from the sale of this hay went to the Sofia School Fund. This meant that the three Dog Days,[1] described in an earlier chapter, were once more days of idleness.

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3. Formerly the Dragalevtsy Obshtina collected seven or eight million leva in taxes, but since incorporation with Sofia had only a budget of one million on which to operate. My informant failed to mention that much of this money came from the factory district down on the Sofia plain which had once, much to the dissatisfaction of the

[1] [Cf. p. 58, category III -- Analyst]

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[651] people living in the district, been a part of the village Obshtina. This area had always been referred to by the villagers as the Mahala, or Quarter.

4. Repairs in the village, such as putting a wooden bridge back into commission after a heavy storm, could be made only after the Sofia authorities gave their approval. Thus, maintenance of roads and other services in the village were said to suffer.

[759] 5. No longer did the village have its own doctor, and it had even lost, so the villagers said, all the medical equipment including microscopes and blood-testing units which the village Obshtina had once owned. Instead, a doctor came at irregular intervals to render whatever medical services were required. This loss of medical equipment, even more than the loss of the physician's services, was a hard pill for some of the more active village leaders to swallow.

6. In place of the veterinarian, who formerly lived in the village, one came twice a week to examine animals and to see that the various veterinary regulations were observed.

But whether they liked it or not, the Dragalevtsy people were a part of Sofia, even to the extent of being included in the city's wartime rationing system. The old rural-urban differences persisted, reminding Americans of similar situations in the United States where the businessman's daylight saving time was anathema to the farmer.

As I tried to reconstruct the chief occurrences of the years intervening between my departure in 1937 and the end of the war, I inquired often as to the whereabouts of some members of the intelligentsia whom I had known well. I learned that the mayor, who had been so helpful during my earlier visit, had given up his post during the days of German collaboration. Apparently he had disagreed with the local committee as to procedures and amounts of grain to be requisitioned from the peasants. He had already been suffering from ill health and could no longer stand the pressure of troubles, arguments, and dissatisfactions which each day brought to his office. From Dragalevtsy my mayor friend had been transferred to the picturesque village of Panchevo, which I shall long remember because of the lunch I had there one summer's day many years ago.

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A friend and I had been cycling on the road which followed the Iskar River and stopped at a Panchevo inn. The waiter brought us white peasant cheese, wrinkled brined olives, and freshly made bread to which warm ashes clung. Cold beer made a perfect drink.

The village priest, who had become such an integral part of village life and managed to keep harmonious relationships between the church and the state functionaries, was no longer in Dragalevtsy. Three years ago he had become involved in an administrative argument with his superior and was told to transfer to a much less desirable parish. Rather than make this shift he went to live in Sofia where, true to his training in finance and commerce, he had a share in a small business enterprise. He still wore his priestly garb, occasionally officiating in a Sofia church. Someone described him as "a minister without portfolio."

The directress of the school was the only member of the intelligentsia who had stuck to her post through thick and thin. She still took the same interest in the all-around development of the children, emphasizing in particular their hygienic training and their religious tuition. There had been considerable shifting in the membership of her teaching staff, but she still had five teachers who, like their predecessors, were more interested in Sofia week ends than village welfare.

The Sekretar Birnik, who had much to do with the collection of taxes and thus enjoyed a social standing out of line with his educational preparation, had also left Dragalevtsy and had been replaced by a local person.

It seemed strange to visit the now completed municipal building and to find the woman doctor no longer there and to notice the absence of her husband from the taverns where he had enjoyed playing cards. Since both were White Russians they knew that their lot under the Communists would be full of uncertainty. No one seemed to know just where they had gone.

Much had been happening to the village organizations as the intelligentsia faded from the scene or were replaced by others with different points of view. The Red Cross, in which the mayor had

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575 taken such an interest, had long ceased to have any importance. This
●178 was also true of the Union for Protection of Children, which had had as its chief function the provision of school lunches for the poor children. The Association for the Decoration for Valor was still tottering along, and its members hoped eventually to enroll three or four members who had participated in the recent war. The School Board had become a thing of the past as the control of the school passed into the hands of the Sofia School System. The Church Board, however, was maintaining its existence and was giving its support to a new organization called the Christian Union which had been founded during the Fascist regime as a religious welfare organization. Before the coming of the Russians this Christian Union had collected and distributed to the poor families at Christmas time and the New Year an amount varying from sixty to seventy thousand leva. In 1945 it boasted about seventy-five members and was flourishing.

For the most part, however, the village organizations died at birth or perished in early infancy, as an earlier chapter showed. The
[596] Dragalevtsy peasant had not yet become a joiner.[1] He gained his social status by the position his family held rather than by the numbers and types of organizations to which he, as an individual, was elected

183 Such, then, was the prelude to Communism. The coming of the
178 National State to the village back in 1934 set a pattern by which each peasant household was later on closely geared in with a totalitarian wartime economy. The majority of traditions were holding firm among the middle-aged and old, while many of the younger people no longer disguised their interest in the fascinating ways of the West. The net effect of the war was to commercialize more fully the village's economic life and make the peasants more money-conscious. Their incorporation into the Sofia municipality as well as the Fascist nature of their state made them feel less responsible as individuals for governmental affairs and drew them farther away from the democratic Slavic tradition inherent in their old joint family system. Religion continued to be accepted as a matter of course, for no one questioned the propriety of having a priest officiate on ceremonial or patriotic occasions.

[1] [As of 1945 -- Analyst]

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The peasants became more nationalistic, since they knew that their own fortunes were closely identified with the fortune of the Bulgarian (that is, Axis) armies. Their social world expanded, and their horizons broadened in a dim, vague way. As defeat stared them in the face, however, they watched their leaders try to extricate the nation from its inevitable doom. A beaten, humiliated people, they knew not where to turn, until Russia made that decision for them.

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622 668 to qualify for governmental retirement benefits and his former supporters were now a part of the opposition. Sofia, too, had a new mayor. It seemed to the village dignitary that all of his trouble was becoming a labor of love for which he would receive little financial return. Upon last report he was seeking a way out of office and was subject to a great deal of jesting in the taverns. The men all laughed one day in December, 1945, when a visitor from Sofia addressed him as "Mr. Mayor," because nobody knew at that time whether he was the mayor or not.

An office more important, however, than that of the mayor was that of the Commune Secretary. In Dragalevtsy this man was a Communist and, although he did not take the public limelight as much as a regular mayor would, he was the key person in the local government. Communist party matters frequently cleared through him, and he was in position to inform higher authorities about all phases of village government. Whereas the mayor's allegiance was primarily to the people of Dragalevtsy and secondarily to the Agrarian party, a luncheon conversation with the Secretary showed me that his loyalty was first of all to his party. Through serving it he felt he was best serving the people.

668 575 883 178 Part of the secret of Communist control in the local community lay in the success which the Communists had in enlisting the aid of many of the young people. In a traditionalistic society, such as one finds in Dragalevtsy, young people have no place of importance. Prestige is reserved for the old; and wisdom is the prerogative of the aged. Therefore a young person is constantly being urged to conform; and whatever idealism may flare up within him in his late teens becomes dissipated in the face of his placid parents and the other apostles of the past. The Communists showed real insight, therefore, in their glorification of the young people, in giving them a place in the sun, as it were. One of the first things they did was to get control of the *Chitalishte,* or Reading-Room Association, and use that as the core for their young people's program. In the house just back of the *Obshtina* they set up clubrooms where members of the *RMS* (Workers Youth Union) could hold meetings, study up on party doctrines, or loaf. The members of this particular organization, although not

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representing the majority of the young people, had an increasing voice in village affairs and were aggressive in their approach to practical problems. Part of this aggressiveness was directed against the young people at that time still active in the *ZMS* (Agrarian Youth Society), which was a part of the opposition.

Another means by which the Communists gained support was in the favoritism shown to party members in the distribution of rationed articles. Just as the ward boss of an American city or the prewar mayor of Dragalevtsy learned that gratitude prompts support or that favors done call for favors in return, so the Fatherland Front made good use of its opportunities. Some of its generosity served purely political ends. The mayor of Sofia, so the Dragalevtsy peasants said, gave one million leva at Christmas time to the *Septemvriche*, or National Children's Communist Organization. Opposition groups, of course, received no such largesse.

But many of the criticisms of pork-barrel politics were due to misunderstanding. The peasants of Dragalevtsy could usually procure no clothing coupons if they had wool at home, and most of them did have a small supply which they were allowed to keep. This amount was based on family size and any surplus was requisitioned by the government. Artisans and laborers, however, who had no sheep, who worked in factories or at their trade, received the clothing coupons, for that was the only way they had of obtaining wearing apparel. Wool and cotton, thread, and goods were still so scarce in both villages and cities that no one group was content with what it had, and peasants were inclined to ascribe whatever others received as due to favoritism rather than the merits of the case. The proof that wool was scarce was the relative inactivity of the carding and spinning *sedenki*, the working bees so popular among the women.

"Why don't you have *sedenki* now," I asked.

"We have no wool to work," was the plausible answer.

Communist party members who used their political standing for self-aggrandizement and enrichment were supposed to be severely dealt with by the party authorities. One story making the rounds in Dragalevtsy had done much to discredit the Communists with those in the opposition. Since living in a Balkan village is a great deal like

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be justified in their opinion. They argued further that all social change was costly, and they firmly believed that the time was ripe for change, their kind of a change.

Many of them felt confident of the future, but some qualified their anticipation by saying, "It all depends upon America and England. If we are left alone, we can work matters out. We want no interference." And as I reviewed the methods by which they attained their present dominant position nationally in the face of hostile opinion in many quarters, I could see that if left alone for a long enough period, they would succeed in instituting the changes they wanted, whatever might be the cost. They controlled the national government and could rely upon Russia for help whenever needed; they were making headway with the young people; they increasingly directed the chief decisions made by village councils and through these councils and secret police knew what was happening throughout the land; they had control over the radio and were biding their time until they could also control the press completely; education was a function of the national government; economic dependence of the peasants upon the local and national authorities was increasing, and there were both tangible and intangible rewards for Communist party membership; fears could be aroused or played down as the government desired, and courts had become not the servant of abstract justice but the instrument of the state.

The time element was of utmost importance. Before the Russian armies left Bulgarian soil upon the conclusion of the peace treaty, the Communists had to have everything well in hand or face the possibility that dissatisfied cliques in the old Bulgarian army could step in to throw the Communists out and set up a military dictatorship which, while anti-Russian, would certainly have few of the earmarks of the democracy known in the West. It would be a recrudescense of irredentist nationalism, and Bulgaria would be on sale to the highest bidder promising to keep the Russian bear at bay. Without the army the Agrarians, who had a realistic, well-thought-out program, would be powerless; but reliance upon the army for a long period would negate most of their plans and make them the bulwark of a dictatorship which they professed to abhor. Such was the unfortunate dilemma

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confronting anyone seeking a rational solution to the Balkan impasse back in 1945.

My visits to Dragalevtsy, however, were not for the purpose of involving myself in the weighty matters of Balkan politics. I simply wanted to see how the village had changed, but soon found that an understanding of political events was necessary to an interpretation of the present situation. This became further apparent when I discovered that the three most significant differences between 1937 and 1945 were heightened factionalism, an increased feeling of insecurity, and a shifting of the relative importance of village institutions. Each of these deserves further explanation.

The coming of Communism had fostered factionalism to a degree never before experienced in Dragalevtsy. That, in fact, was its chief sociological effect. During the times when political parties were flourishing with abandon in the late 1920's and early 1930's the competition between party members was more a recreational pursuit than serious political maneuvering. All parties had had considerable backing from their respective leaders in Sofia, and all to that extent were on a similar footing. With the coming of the Germans some villagers ardently supported Nazi ideology and considered Bulgaria fortunate to be allied with the Axis powers; others had their misgivings, but never to the point of splitting up the village on factional lines. Upon the formation of the opposition in 1945, matters were different. No longer was the political competition an internal affair alone, but was one in which outside powers took an active interest. The Communists openly boasted about the might of Russia and spoke with assurance of Russian support; those in the opposition took what comfort they could from British and American actions and speeches but could not claim unqualified aid.

The splitting up of the village into Communists and non-Communists had therefore caused a tear in the total social fabric. For example, children who belonged to the Fatherland Front organization —the *Septemvriche*—received many small favors from the state. Little *Septemvristi* were sent to conferences within Bulgaria and even to Yugoslavia where they performed for their neighbor Slavs. Children who did not belong because their parents disapproved were taunted

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by the others. They answered back, repeating many of the comments heard around the house, comments definitely unfavorable to Communism and its cause. So the bickering reached into the schoolhouse and the playground, and children early became conscious of political differences not of their own making.

With the young people, as already indicated, the division on the basis of political sympathy was even more marked. The Agrarian young people tended to associate with each other, and watched with dismay the active role that the members of the Communist youth group were playing in village life. Some enamoured couples, where each had differing political loyalties, disregarded political barriers in their devotion to each other, but when broaching the question of marriage to the parents often met stern disapproval. A girl's father would say, "I don't want my daughter marrying a Communist" or "You do what you want, but if you marry a Communist never come back to my house."

The controversy over politics extended also to the various "working groups" which had been such a basic part of village life in the past. A woman who was organizing a corn-hoeing group would invite only those whose political interests were similar. She knew that little work would be done in her fields if she got together women who differed over the present government.

At this stage of accommodation, therefore, factionalism was based on political differences and expressed itself in a separatism which seriously affected village life. People who differed politically simply stayed apart; where they had to mingle, such as on a bus, they made the best of it by teasing and horseplay which seemed to be all in fun but which often gave voice to deeply rooted emotions.

Accompanying the disagreements within the agricultural group itself were disagreements between the Agrarians and the artisans. The peasants of the opposition resented intensely the attempt on the part of the government[1] to classify them with "workers," or men who owned little or no land and who depended entirely upon some skill for a livelihood. The peasant in the past had felt superior, or at least claimed to be more favored in social position than the artisan such as the tailor, although envious of the "easy work" that the tailor had to

[1] [The Communist government in 1945 - Analyst]

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668 578 554 178 do. Owing to the Communistic agitation in Dragalevtsy, lines were more sharply drawn between the peasants on the one hand and the artisans on the other. Most of the artisans had learned their trade in Sofia, had been subjected to city influences, and many of them had become acquainted with Communist ideas there before the war. Even Bai Milosh, the village patriarch so frequently mentioned in this account, had a son who had become an ardent Communist. This son was not the one who took over the management of field crops, nor the one responsible for the livestock. Instead he had become a cobbler. He thought of himself as a worker, whereas his brothers thought of themselves as farmers.

668 578 178 [888] Quarreling between the young and old also characterized the factionalism. Although the Agrarian young people opposed the Communists, they were certainly influenced by the actions of their more progressive or radical contemporaries. The older peasants who were opposed to the present regime emphasized time and time again the danger of having young people run the affairs of the land. This displacement of the aged rather than the indifference of Communists to God seemed to be causing the gravest concern to those who had been steeped in the traditional way of life.

668 178 626 But factionalism was not the only pronounced change which I noted. I found everywhere an insecurity which was foreign to the Dragalevtsy I had once known. The opposition supporters could be expected to feel insecure, for they had to face the possibility that Communism would carry the day. But even the Communists who were definitely in the good graces of the party were having many troubled moments. The wife of one Communist was active in the opposition, and when I asked him why he tolerated such political division in his family he simply laughed. I continued to question him: "Aren't you the boss in this family? Why do you let your wife have such independence?"

He then became deadly serious and sought to lead me out of my cloud of ignorance. "You see, it's this way. Suppose the Communists are overthrown. Where would I be then? But if my wife is active in the Agrarian group, she can then speak for me and get me out of trouble."

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But some of the peasants who turned Communists were having their days of religious doubt. They asked quite frequently, "Can we be Communists and still believe in God?" They voluntarily sent their children to the priest's class in religion held in the schoolhouse. "And the Communist children know their lessons better than the children of the opposition," was the opinion of a member of the intelligentsia.

The ideas of many new converts to the Marxist doctrine had been rudely shaken the previous summer at the time of the church processional for rain. The drought had been devastating. Corn was drying up; pastures were turning brown. So a band of villagers, with some Communists who went along for old times' sake, accompanied the priest on a circuit of the fields. The boys carried the church relics and the priest walked faithfully along in his hot, black vestments. No rain came and the Communists thoroughly enjoyed scoffing at those who had started out with such bright hopes. Conditions grew worse and worse, so the religious leaders thought another processional in order. The whole performance was repeated, with Communists along again. This time the priest went up high on the mountainside, so as to include village properties not previously visited. His prayers were efficacious, for a shower which later turned to steady rain burst forth upon the band of villagers, wetting them to the skin before they could return to shelter in the village. The religious people thus had the last word when atheism was discussed.

The prevalent feeling of insecurity included more, however, than beliefs and basic attitudes about religion and politics. It stemmed also from the economic uncertainty which characterized the period. Always lurking in the peasant's consciousness was the fear that his holding, his precious acres, would be collectivized as was done in Russia. It mattered not to him that his farming was inefficiently done or that such inefficiency was no solution for the overpopulation which characterized his land. He wanted no part of a great impersonal *kolkhoz* where in the long run he would become a worker instead of an owner, or where he would work land which he could not call his own. That to him was serfdom; it was not freedom. And discussions of these topics trailed off into many beside-the-point objections, which

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nevertheless seemed important to the peasant. I recall one such discussion which dealt with the idea of a shortened work-week at the factories. The peasants disapproved of the whole plan and used it as a basis for condemning land collectivization because "We want to be able to work as long as we want without having people tell us that we have to stop working."

Peasants were greatly confused, therefore, over the farm policies to be pursued in the next two or three years. They planned and schemed and talked endlessly about what they should plant, what they should do about their debts, or whether the aged fathers should distribute their land to their sons before they died. But always there was the great unknown of government policy which upset their calculations and kept them insecure.

Another important social change was occuring in the institutional pattern of Dragalevtsy. In earlier chapters we noted how the encroachment of the state was making considerable impact upon the traditional familistic patterns, while economic life was becoming more commercialized and religious activities were declining in importance. The coming of the Communists had begun to weaken the family ties even further, for the Fatherland Front had given votes to all women and had thus attacked the dogma of male supremacy; it had honored the young at the expense of the aged; and it had turned brother against brother as the struggle for control grew more bitter. As the representative of the central government, the Fatherland Front was affecting an even larger area of life than the prewar regime did, especially when its economic regulations and its threat to the hallowed traditional system of landownership.

Another disturbing effect was the substitution of Moscow as the center of the universe, for the Communist adherents at least, when formerly Dragalevtsy or perhaps Sofia by courtesy was thought to be the center. These innovations of the present government had done much to prejudice it in the eyes of the people, who made decisions not upon the basic issues which the government was striving to champion, but resisted blindly and perhaps fanatically simply because the new regime spelled the end of their way of life. As they realized this, some of the peasants turned more and more to the church, the institu-

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tion which had kept Bulgarian nationality alive through the centuries and had become the champion of an independent Bulgaria in days gone by. In Dragalevtsy church attendance had increased and more attention was paid to the forms and ceremonies, although fasting was not gaining any in popularity. Nor were the peasants too trustful of Archbishop Stefan, the politically minded head of their church. But they knew that the church and the family served as mutual supports and that if one suffered the other suffered too. Government which was once tolerated as a necessary evil now had become an active menace to be combated whenever possible. The means of struggling against the government were inadequate, but the peasants had patience and said that they would bide their time. But as they bided their time many of them died and were replaced by men and women who had grown up under the tutelage of the Fatherland Front, who had forgotten about the days of village elders, of large family groups, and no longer reverenced out-of-date superstitions or valued quaintness in contrast to that which was modern.

A new Dragalevtsy was thus being born. Change was nothing new to the village, but this time changes were occurring so fast that the old way of life could no longer absorb the impact of strange traits and differing social values. The transition period was proving painful for those who still wanted to live in the past. Whether it held promise for those gazing toward the future depended upon the decisions or indecisions of men sitting around conference tables in countries thousands of miles away.

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APPENDIX IV

NEIGHBORHOODS AND NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS IN A BULGARIAN VILLAGE*

During my first three years in Bulgaria, 1929-1932, I became generally acquainted with its rural life. When I returned to Bulgaria in 1934 for another three-year period I chose for special study one village, Dragalevtsy by name, whose 1,669 inhabitants live in houses clustered near the foot of Mount Vitosha four miles from the outskirts of Sofia. I visited the village on frequent occasions and lived there for weeks at a time. Although my investigations led me to consider many things such as the basic institutions, the formal and informal groupings, customs and folklore, along with the operation of the social processes, social control, and social change, one of the most difficult of the social phenomena for me, an outsider, to understand was the *mahala,* or neighborhood.

THE MAHALA. Dragalevtsy, like the majority of European agricultural villages, is a compact settlement of farmers whose land lies around the village in strips, numbering approximately 16 per Dragalevtsy farmer. The village is at least four centuries old and has grown but slowly during that time. Until three or four generations ago all life was organized around the patriarchal *zadruga,*[1] or joint-family. The members of such a family owned everything in common and worked in harmony under the administrator or *domakin,* the acknowledged head of the *zadruga.* Although their dwellings were crude and overcrowded each *zadruga* needed a large plot of land around the houses for the flocks of sheep and other animals kept at home during the winter months. With the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkey in 1878 forces were let loose which hastened the break-up of the joint-family system.[2] Brothers moved away from the paternal home into dwellings of their own, these usually being

* This article appeared in *Social Forces,* XVII, No. 4, May, 1939. Reprinted by permission.

[1] Ivan Evstatiev Geshov, *Zadrugite Vv Zapadna Bulgaria,* Per. Spisanie, God. V. Kn. xix i xx, str. 426, Stredets, 1886.

St. L. Kostov and E. Peteva, *Selski Bit i Izkustvo Vv Sofiisko,* Sofia, 1935, str. 58.

[2] Some of the factors contributing to this break-up: (a) individualization following Bulgaria's liberation in 1878 and the spread of popular education; (b) fashion of small, individual families in the West; (c) disagreement between the wives of brothers living together under the same roof; (d) unwillingness of men working outside the *zadruga,* either as laborers or professional men, to hand over their whole earnings to the common treasury; (e) woman's newly-acquired right of inheritance.

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constructed on a part of the large plot of ground belonging to the dissolving *zadruga*. It therefore happened after a generation or so that six or seven houses whose heads all bore the same family name were located in a particular section of the village. Such clusters of houses in Dragalevtsy were called a *mahala* and often bore the name of the oldest living member of the family such as "Grandfather Grigor's *Mahala*." This usage of the term grew up quite unconsciously on the part of the peasants, and even today they use the term *mahala* without any clear conception of just what they mean by it.

At first glance it seems that *mahala* means a certain section of the village because it is often referred to in giving directions, but it is more correct to say that the peasant really means "over there in that particular section of the village where all of those related Manchevi live." This means that the *mahala* has both a geographical and kinship nature. On the other hand, if one of the Manchev men should for any reason move to another section of the village, he would still consider himself a Manchev, while admitting that he lived in a different *mahala*, and that the Mancheva *mahala* would not be extended to include him. In other words, the *mahala* is not identical with the term *rodstvo*, which means the large family connections. It applies only to those large family connections living in close proximity plus any other families dwelling among them. And this latter element is becoming of more importance. Today traces of kinship are beginning to vanish because the origins go back too far and because outsiders are slowly moving into Dragalevtsy.

The *mahala* never acts as a unit about anything, because its geographical character is its predominating aspect. Every villager can give the names of the other homes in his particular *mahala* and can even plot the *mahala* boundaries on a map of the village. But this does not mean that he feels any psychological bond connecting him with each of those homes any more than would the people who live on the same street in a small American town. Yet the very fact that they live near one another means that they will tend to interact more with one another than with people living on the other side of the village. This is why the *mahala* becomes important in a sociological analysis: it locates an individual in a given environmental setting.[3]

[3] Louis Petroff in his article "Peasant Primary Groups in Bulgaria" (*Sociology and Social Research*, 13, p. 557) thinks of the *mahla* (so he transliterates the word) as one of the important primary groups of the Bulgarian village. In his article he does not attempt to explain the origin of the *mahala* but thinks of it rather as "A section of the village separated by a small stream, a hill, a main road or a similar boundary. Or it may be a cluster of houses around a centering place, such as an inn or a store, but most commonly around a water fountain or a well." In Dragalevtsy the *mahala* originated as a kinship group, though the land originally owned by a *zadruga* was doubtless determined largely by geographical factors. The kinship origin is also shown by the fact that all the *mahali* in Dragalevtsy bear family names rather than those based on topographical or economic features.

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CONCLUSION

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The concept "social contact" implies both the possibility of contact as well as psychic interaction.[11] The quantitative measurements of this study deal chiefly with the possibilities which the peasants have or create for social interaction, since these were sufficiently clear-cut for the village officials and peasants to measure. But when it came to the more intangible element of psychic interaction I had to rely on direct personal observation. Therefore, the following conclusions are based in part on statistics and in part upon observation:

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1. Proximity to a "city-culture" and frequent trips to the city on the part of the villagers does not necessarily mean psychological contact with that "city-culture." For the most part, the peasant moves in a peasant world even while in the city. It is quite natural for him to attach himself to the familiar.

2. Proximity to the city may in itself be a deterrent to the ready acceptance of "city ways" on the part of the villager, since he constantly confronts fashions, habits, and viewpoints which clash decidedly with his own. This leads me to wonder whether or not "modernization," granting that it is desirable, might not come more quickly through a small, provincial town which is more in keeping with rural thought and life than through direct contact with the city. The hikers who visit Dragalevtsy, although causing dissatisfaction, make the mature peasant more resistant to city influences; these visitors do seem to have an influence upon the young; but it would be hazardous to guess to what degree, because so often the seemingly liberal young people become conservative when they have children of their own.

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3. Government leaders in their attempt to raise the peasants' standard of living visit the village systematically for lectures and some demonstrations. They seem to be overlooking the fact that thousands of peasants regularly visit the city where, if some Peasant Center could be established, methods of improved living could be interpreted in a favorable light. Some such approach would lessen the peasant's negativism toward the city, a negativism which has been built up as a defense or as a result of genuine disapproval.

4. The statistics relative to the reading matter which comes into the village weekly show how little is being done effectively to influence the peasant by letters, journals, and other publications, although the literacy rate for males over fifteen years is 92.

[11] At first I had in mind the formulation of a contact Index such as Kulp used in his Chinese study, *Familism in South China*. I soon found that the various contacts were of varying intensity, concerned different types of people, and would, therefore, require separate weighting. My methods were not refined enough to make such weightings feasible. Furthermore, aside from the methodological interest, the value of such an index would be limited to the study of other Bulgarian villages in the same cultural setting.

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5. This study of one village can be merely suggestive and does not afford the basis for any sweeping conclusions, but it can serve as a pattern for those who wish to measure the social contacts of villages which are similar in many respects to Dragalevtsy. 000

6. In considering the social contact which the peasants have with the city and its implication for social change, we must not overlook the sheer enjoyment derived by the peasant from the very fact of contact itself, whether it be from the thrill of a new experience or the more intimate association with friends from other villages. Because recreation is not yet commercialized and impersonalized, face-to-face contact is the chief form of amusement. Of course, this need is usually met within the village, but a talk with someone from the outside world does possess a novelty not afforded by everyday association. 369 571 178

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APPENDIX VII

THE FOLK APPROACH IN EXTENSION WORK

A BULGARIAN EXPERIENCE*

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THE INCIDENT. One day in Dragalevtsy, a Bulgarian village of 1,600 people, the mayor's courier went from house to house to inform all expectant mothers of a meeting to be held in the schoolhouse the next afternoon. The public health nurse from Sofia wanted to tell them about prenatal and postnatal care. Attendance, according to the courier, was compulsory. As he made his rounds, comments such as these flowed in his wake: "What does that mayor think he's doing? Making a public spectacle of pregnant women!" "I've already had more babies than that nurse will ever have. She can't tell me anything I don't know." By nightfall the women of the village, after discussing it over the stone fences between the yards, had decided that the expectant mothers should not attend the meeting.

The next afternoon two or three women did appear, women whose families felt under obligation to the mayor and consequently supported all of his programs. The mayor and the nurse were much disappointed, but dared not invoke the compulsory part of the courier's invitation. The nurse went ahead with her demonstration for the faithful few, but even these left the meeting much bewildered and quite disappointed. They told their friends, "We couldn't buy all the stuff she told us to buy, even if we should want to do everything she suggested."

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THE PROBLEM. Incidents similar to this occurred so frequently during my three-year study of that village that I tried to discover what more effective approach could be used to bridge the gap between the scientific and the folk knowledge. The mayor and those assisting him were well-intentioned, but the people never seemed to apply the suggestions that the outside lecturers made. Accordingly, the lecturers became more convinced that the peasants were stupid, and the peasants became more self-satisfied with the ways that they already had. What was supposed to be *extension of the new* really became *extinction of the new* before it had time to take root.

The "uplifters," who frequently used the phrase *izdigane na seloto* or "the raising up of the village," were unnecessarily complicating their task.

* This article appeared in *Journal of Applied Anthropology*, II, No. 4, September, 1943. Used by permission. This also appeared later in *Autonomous Groups Bulletin* as Vol. I, No. 3.

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178 Instead of concentrating on the improvement of home-making and the en-
181 couragement of hygienic practices, which were their primary aims, they were also trying to change the women's meeting habits, or their ways of getting together. They insisted that the women leave their homes and come to the school for an artificially assembled meeting of a stiff, formal sort where they would be on the "receiving end," without the give-and-take of informal conversation to which they were accustomed.

As I sensed this difficulty I became convinced that the folkways already provided an avenue to the village women: namely, the *sedenka,* or "sitting," which is the name the villagers have given to the women's working groups.

574 THE SEDENKA.[1] Allegedly, the main purpose of the *sedenka* is to help some
476 woman card her fluffy, newly-washed wool or to help her spin some of the wool into thread. Actually, it is recreational as well, for the women thoroughly enjoy sharing the gossip, the songs, and the food which accompany such get-togethers. Although these *sedenki* (pl.) seem at times to be hit-or-miss affairs, certain unwritten rules govern their activity. If a woman, for example, wants to have the help of her neighbors in carding her wool there are procedures she must follow.

1. She will select the guests quite carefully, inviting those who owe her work in kind or those to whose houses she wants to be invited when they card their wool. She rejects from the number those who cause ill-feeling, who stir up trouble, or who are at odds with each other. Similarly she rejects those whose houses she does not want to visit in a "return engagement" either because their food is poorly prepared or because they are dirty and slovenly in their housekeeping. At times she is prevailed upon by a close friend or a relative to invite some individual who is not popular enough to receive many invitations but who is anxious for the social intercourse that these occasions provide.

2. She will issue the invitations in the time-honored way. Although she may have seen two friends the evening before at the fountain and learned from them that they definitely plan to attend, she nevertheless goes to their homes before daybreak to call out in the crisp autumn air, "Anka, Anka." The dogs set up a terrific roar, and Anka finally appears at the door. "I'm having a *sedenka* today and I hope you can come." Anka accepts most graciously, while the walking alarm clock moves on to issue the next invitation.

3. She will prepare quantities of special food. There are certain dishes that are *sedenka* favorites. In the fall, one of these is *banitsa,* a soggy pumpkin pie two feet in diameter. A stew of beans or one of meat and vegetables is often popular.

4. She will see that the activities at the *sedenka* flow along normally. There must be enough of the comb-like affairs, long spikes set in a small

[1] [For additional material, see pp. 74-77, category 116--Analyst]

000 public schools.

793 A certain amount of religious instruction was given in the primary and secondary schools, religious history being included in the curriculum. However, these subjects were not taught by clerics but by the laymen, in most cases graduates of the theological schools. Clerics served as instructors in the secondary schools only in the first years after the establishment of the Bulgarian State when the demand for educators exceeded the available number of teachers.

IV. Status of the Bulgarian Church Developments Since 1944

A. General Survey

[178] 659 The seizure of power on September 9, 1944, by the Communist-dominated Fatherland Front coalition signalized important changes in the position of religion and the religious denominations. Ideologically, the dominant Bulgarian Communist Party was committed to a negation of all religion as the "opium for the masses". Practically, its policy toward religion and the Orthodox Church in particular was determined by more realistic considerations.

The communists could only desire to destroy the relationship established between the State and the Church. Likewise, they could not but desire to reduce and if possible, to destroy the great freedom which the Constitution of 1879 granted to the minority denominations allowing them to "be

ruins the Kemalist Republic was established in the Anatolian Highland which is the only truly Turkish region and cradle of the power of the Osmanli Turks. The wars produced a new trend of emigration among the Moslems in all Balkan States. This trend was particularly strong among the Turks in Macedonia and especially those civilians or military who had led the fight against the powerful Macedonian Revolutionary organization. As Mustafa Kemal's companions in arms, they were given prominent positions in the People's Republican Party founded by him. Mustafa Kemal, having been the Turkish military attache to Sofia before becoming Turkey's liberator, enjoyed great prestige among the Moslem population in Bulgaria. His influence caused a flood of Turkish immigrants to turn to the newly-established Republic. As those immigrants were more civilized and educated than the backward Anatolian peasants, they rapidly took into their hands the rein of business, playing an increasingly important part in the economic and political life of Turkey. Even today, the market of Ankara is dominated by the immigrants from Bulgaria, and one can often hear the Bulgarian language spoken in the shops and stores of the capital.

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The immigration would have been much greater if Ataturk had not enforced his great social, political and cultural reforms which shocked the Moslem world at first and which the Moslems of the Balkan States refused to follow. These reforms had to do with the liquidation of the Caliphate, and consequently of the religious law (Sherist), in civic matters, the abandonment of the fez (cap) for men and feredje

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(viel) for women, and the change from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet.

These fundamental reforms provoked a schism at first, and for a long time Mustafa Kemal and his followers were considered infidels by other Moslems. The Bulgarian Government, keenly aware of the potential menace presented by the compact and numerous Turkish minority, was only too happy to exploit this schism, which caused the Turks in Bulgaria to turn away from Ankara and Constantinople.

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Bulgaria refused to exert any pressure on the Moslem minority to force it to organize its social and religious life along the lines advocated by the Kemalists. The Moslems were left entirely free to keep the Sheriat and the Arabic alphabet. Nothing was changed in the Turkish clergy and schools in Bulgaria. This was all the easier to effect because the separation of the Church and State, which is the core of the Kemalist reforms, had long been realized in Bulgaria by the very fact of the establishment of the Christian Bulgarian State side by side with an ethnically foreign Moslem minority.

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Left entirely to itself, this minority, whose nationality and religion have always been scrupulously respected, organized itself on the basis of the Sheriat, which governed every phase of its civic and religious life, particularly in matrimonial matters - marriage and divorce (i. e., repudiation of the wife by the husband), as well as in the matters of inheritance.

This organization, which developed side by side with

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nicus and Galileo who opened for us the celestial world. We have at ths time the invention of the art of printing which helped the spread of ideas by books. Here is the age of most gifted masters of speech, beauty and marble, like Petrarch and Boccacio, Ariosto and Tasso, Camoens and Servantes, of Rabelais and Montaigne, of Shakespeare, Michel-Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Rafael and Tician. This is the period of great philosophers like Bacon, Giordano Bruno etc. etc ... Bulgaria was unable to benefit by all these miracles of rich material, intellectual, spiritual and esthetic culture ... At this same time, our half illiterate monks the only representatives of our intellectual life in this remote dark age, contemporaries of Ariosto and Tasso, of Shakespeare and Servantes, of Rafael and Tician, devoted their lives to the painstaking and tedious work of copying the lives of saints or of painting ikons, which betryed the complete conventionality and frigidity of Byzantine art!"

But neither the Turkish political, nor the Greek ecclesiastical slavery were in a position to suppress the spirit of the Bulgarian nation. It was encouraged by the enlightened groups of artizans, merchants and clergymen. A bright spark flashed all of a sudden in this dark period. This spark was the Slavic Bulgarian history of a Bulgarian monk of Macedonian origin called Paissi Hilendarski[1]). This was a hand written manuscript of 1762, which told the Bulgarian people of their glorious past, of their Kings and Patriarchs. The manuscript was called by the common people „The Book of Kings" and was copied and distributed widely in the Bulgarian lands. The plea of this Bulgarian monk to his people was „Oh Bulgarians, get to know your origin and your language". This was a forward call for the hard struggle to obtain schools and churches, enlightement, civilization and freedom of conscience: a struggle against anything that was Greek. The hatred, accumulated for centuries past — already 1083 years old — broke out with new force. This was the Bulgarian Renaissance.

„The Bulgarian Renaissance, as a process of development, has something in common with the Renaissance of Westren Europe:

[1]) A monk of the Hilendar Monastery, Mont Alhos.

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„1. The Renaissance in both cases is not a casual or sudden change, but it passes trough a period of transition and preparation. The transitory period is the Middle Ages. The only difference is that the Middle Ages ended for Europe in the beginning of the 14th century, while in Bulgaria it lasted until the end of the 18th century.

„2. In both cases the carriers and promoters of the Renaissance ideas were men of public and economic affairs.

„3. Both in Italy an in Bulgaria, the leader of the movement appeared to be a prominent person: Petrarch in Italy and Paissi in Bulgaria.

„4. What particularly brings our Bulgarian Renaissance close to the Western European is the new conception of things national, of the national spirit and the reversion of language and literature to their original sources to this conception". [1])

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19. Bulgarian Exarchate. National Bulgarian Church, 1872. We find the idea of the church at the bottom of Bulgarian national thought.

The conception of a national church is the fundamental thought that runs through Bulgarian history up to the present times.

The well known Romanian historian prof. N. Yorga stresses particularly the specific significance of the Bulgarian church in the political life of the Bulgarians: [2]) „The Bulgarian tradition, however, continued to live in the church, and this church represented the culture, the city life, the old and only intrinsic opposition in this same imperial conception against Hellenism, which conquered Byzantium".

The Bulgarians had accumulated in their hearts a profound animosity against the Greeks. Anything that was Greek was a synonym of oppression for them. Their ideal for freedom and independence was snugly preserved in their lofty mountains. The struggle for it began with new force and vigor. It was now a struggle for education, cultural advancement, free-

[1]) Shishmanoff, opus cit. p. 191.

[2]) N. Yorga; Histoire des Roumains et de la Roumanie Orientale vol. III, p. 112, Bukarest 1937; Cif. Prof. Nicolaeff, op. cit. p. 127.

Mikhaylovski, but a tolerant and mild humaneness which 538
remains from the good pre-war times with their quiet
and satisfaction.

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This humanity and this wisdom which we see in 538
Stamatov and the writers of his period, are a reflection 178
of the Slavonic elements in the Bulgarian people and
were most clearly shown while Bulgaria lived a happy
and free life. Since the war with its attendant sufferings
and the revival of memories of the Turkish yoke, these
qualities are disappearing, partially if not wholly, or are
being eclipsed by other elements which are appearing
in literature. The national catastrophes which Bulgaria
suffered after the Balkan Wars and the World War, when
she was forbidden union with Macedonia, the hardships
inflicted by the unjust treaty of peace, and the material
deprivations embittered all the Bulgarians and took
from them their self-confidence and the internal peace
with which they were rising to cultural perfection and
social well-being. The people turned their attention in-
wards, to the problems of the soul, questions of life and
death, social and class conflicts. They sought in their
own past the causes and the explanations of the misfor-
tunes which they had undergone and interested them-
selves in their national qualities and defects, in which
lay the basis for their future success or failure.

As a result of this change in the Bulgarian character, 538
in political life there came a strengthening of partisan
struggles, and sharp division into schools in the field of
literature. Each of these sought to solve in its own way
the problems resulting from the changes in the social
and the psychological life of the people.